/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 179 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [197] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/4 cont./

648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

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114 III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriána /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and

[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment

[194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

[197] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

American missionaries who have been in touch with the

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

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aforementioned Indians for several years and used this opportunity to carry on their own ethnological investigations (7a, b). More-

7a. Barker, 1953.

7b. Finney, 1957.

over one should mention the Italian, Alfonso Vinci, who lived in southern Venezuela in 1953-1955 and there met Xiriâna and Waikâ groups (8).

8. Vinci, 1956.

On the subject of contacts with natives in the interior of that vast area between Rio Branco and Serra Parima, which Coudreau regarded as virtually unpeopled (9), that is, according to his view,

9. Coudreau, H.A., 1887, p. 255.

only west of the Rio Branco, between the lower Mucajaí and the lower Catrimani, did there live a few Indian groups "mal connus et redoutés" known as evil and feared/ (10), Georges Salathé

10. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 247 and Map V.

and Donald Holdridge alone have reported as yet (11). The

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11. The area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, as well as the region east of the Rio Branco, have for a long time been regarded as dangerous because, as Alexander von Humboldt and Robert Schomburgk have already reported, several of the tribes living there are supposed to have a very

/179 cont./

619 Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local
[624] groups which form a band of extended families and provide the
596 peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

From what has been published up to the present regarding
[184] the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among
[194] them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the
128 Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to
[797] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Casapare
Cariban Indians SR7
Auake 555

A /186 cont./
131 cf. idem, 1922, p. 226) was visited on the Urumamy Falls by
175 a small group of Auaké (Arutani), who pointed out to the explorer that their land was on the source of the Paragua, where
A they had a communal house. But even by that time the Auaké
[617] (Arutani) had left their southern haunts to the Casapare and had
A migrated to the north. But a large number merged with the
[619] Casapare, and it is very likely that the Arutani of the upper Paragua represent the last vestiges of the Auaké.

A It is useful to stress the fact that both tribes, the Sapé and
101 the Arutani, belong among the primitive groups of South
174 America, and that their idioms constitute independent languages.
648 They have very probably served as buffers between the Caribe
[199] and the Yanoama, and while the former pushed them from the Paragua to the south, the latter absorbed them or displaced them
C toward the north. The Caribe have had the same function in
648 more recent times, when they were destroyed between the frontiers of white civilization and that of the Yanoama, and today only a few vestiges of these tribes remain.

A Regarding the idioms of the Sapé (Kaliana) and Arutani
197 (Auaké), it is interesting to point out that Loukotka (1935) found
194 Chibcha vestiges in the Auaké and the Kaliana. If we consider that the Yanoama are related to the Warao and that both have a relatively low cultural level, it is possible to believe in a substratum of marginal tribes with a Chibcha linguistic affiliation, to which the present Warao, Sapé, Arutani, and Yanoama tribes may possibly belong. We shall go into this interesting topic in the section which describes some of the linguistic aspects of the Yanoama /see pp. 38 ff./.

Y The most recent information that we have regarding the
114 Casapare was submitted by the previously mentioned Capuchin fathers, Armellada and Matallana (1942), by Gheerbrandt (1955), and by Montoya (1958).

Y The expedition of the Capuchin fathers was undertaken in
114 1940 with the intention of completing a missionary report on
● 797 the river and its native population. They went out in search of
162 men, and their conclusion that the Paraguá, apart from being a dangerous river and difficult to navigate, did not have large

Avake 555

/186 cont./ indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Púmpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

Makiritare SS 20

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/190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

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A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

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The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

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We have already mentioned the first contacts which the Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

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9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Wai'ca

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On the riverside where the bananas were being stacked, we came across a strange character. He was a white man, young and prematurely bald, who watched the proceedings calmly, almost diffidently. His trousers and shirt were impregnated with the violet dye the Indians smear on their bodies. I went

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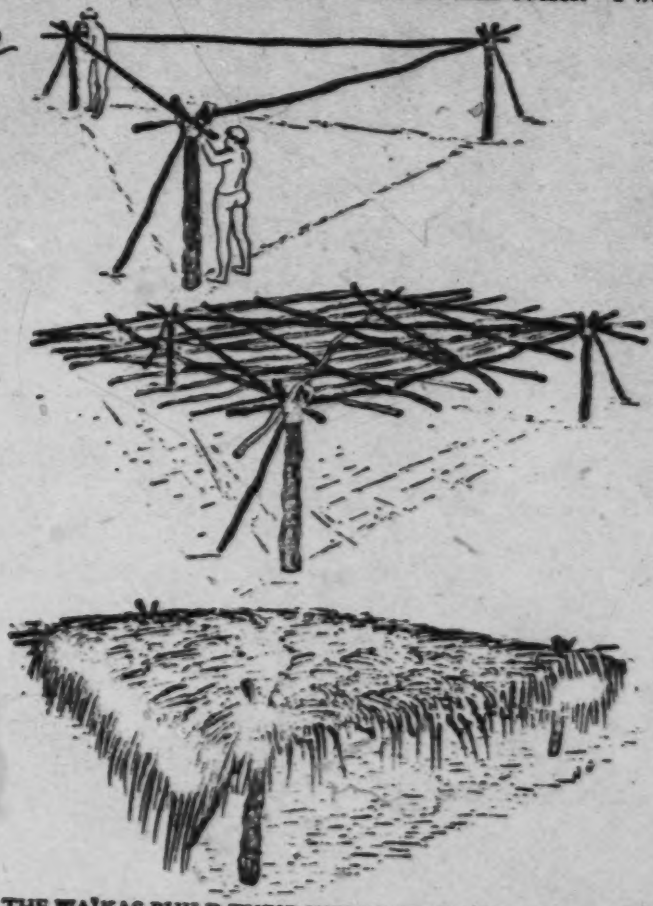

THE WAIKAS BUILD THEIR HUTS IN A MATTER OF A FEW MINUTES. THE HUTS ARE ALWAYS BUILT TO THE SAME PATTERN

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

forward to meet him and he introduced himself as James Barker of the Evangelist Mission of San Fernando de Atabapo. He told me that he and a companion now up at the village had been living with the Waikas for the past seven months. He added that the Indians had sunk the boat in which they had come so that they were now quite isolated. He spoke their language fluently and his attitude to them was that of an indulgent schoolmaster.

I told him of our desire to see the village and he spoke about it to the Waikas. They were at once suspicious and reluctant; even when they eventually agreed, agreement was far from unanimous. Nevertheless, we fell in behind Barker and marched up a slippery path so muddy that I began to envy the forest people their nakedness. We came to a recently made clearing which had been cleared by fire and I tried to slip away up a little-used path. At once the Indians objected, their vehemence suggesting that the plantation to which the path probably led hid many wonderful secrets.

After twenty minutes of marching we came to a fence in a clearing. The fence was made of stakes lashed together forming a perfect circle. I thought this must be the village but we passed it by. A hundred yards beyond we came to another similar enclosure and this time our guides led us inside. As we entered I remembered what Pierre Ivanoff had told me of an earlier occasion when he and three companions had succeeded in reaching a Waika village. The first enclosure we had just seen was undoubtedly the counterpart of the one in which he had been forced to dance with his hosts before being allowed to go on to the second. In the present instance the dance was omitted from our programme.

Inside the enclosure, which was some thirty yards across, huts were built with their backs to the palisade, leaving a circular space in the middle shaded by a big tree. The corner of each hut consisted of three stakes in the form of a tripod supporting horizontal rafters of green wood tied in place by lianas. Wide-eaved roofs were thatched with banana leaves. The circle of fencing was unbroken except for the single entry. A pungent, musty smell pervaded the place as we

827 direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of
128 mountains. At a few points the Shukumöna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

128 Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extend-
131 ing nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the
133 Indians claim the Shukumöna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from
128 Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map
133 published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for
129 the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the
[126] Shukumöna-u of the Yąnomamö. I have used more recent maps,
[114] also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

126 In reconstructing the history of the village move-
174 ments, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have
361 relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the
133 Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimöwi-bora in Yąnomamö) and Raudal Guaharibo (Kamöbö-bora in Yąnomamö) near the present village of Kashorawö-tedi.

126 I employed three sources of information to locate
361 present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages
[115] I personally visited. Second, information from James P.
[777]

126 36 [116] [199] [184] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [802] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakëbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

At Patanowë-tëka she was given to Husiwë, by whom she had two sons (Orakuwë and Kariunawë). The approximate date of her move to Patanowë-tëka is 1935; it could not be much later, because a war broke out between Matakuwë's group and the group at Patanowë-tëka shortly after this date, and no visitors went between these two villages after hostilities commenced.

When the Patanowë-tëka group separted into two villages, Nabëyoma remained with the group that is presently called Patanowë-tedi. The two splinter groups entered into hostilities with each other shortly after they separated, and Nabëyoma's husband, Husiwë, was one of the first casualties. Nabëyoma, her co-wife (Shǫrökoma), and all their children fled from Husiwë's group and joined the other, cognate, group. Shǫrökoma, originally abducted from yet another Shamatari village, later returned to Patanowë-tedi, but Nabëyoma stayed with Patanowë-tedi's enemies. In 1951 when the treacherous feast was pulled on the group to which Nabëyoma belonged and the group fled to Mahekodo-tedi for protection, Nabëyoma was given to a man in Mahekodo-tedi, Remoriwë, as part of the cost of the alliance.

While Nabëyoma lived at Mahekodo-tedi, Barker and his colleague, David Landon, discovered that she still remembered how to write her name (Elena Valero). They informed the authorities in Puerto Ayacucho that a Brazilian woman was living with the Yąnomamö, presumable abducted by them from one of the settlements across the border, but

175 before action could be taken, Nabëyoma's new husband left
648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinabŏwei-tedi), taking with him Nabëyoma, her two sons by Husiwë, and his own son by Nabëyoma.

[697] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinabŏwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabëyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwë subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yanomamŏ are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
*628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.
124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

847 two to three years, as women nurse their children until they
834 are at least two years old. Faced with this prospect, young
853 couples may decide to kill their child, irrespective of its sex.[1]

847 Infanticide is effected by a number of techniques. Most commonly, a woman strangles her child with a vine as soon as it is delivered. In other cases the child is allowed to suffocate if it does not begin breathing spontaneously. If the child begins to breathe, the mother may simply abandon it where it is born, or throw it into the jungle. A case of attempted infanticide came to my attention by way of the New Tribes Mission. A woman in one of the villages on the Padamo [197] River threw a new-born daughter into the jungle. The missionary living with the woman's village found the baby and took it into his own home. The woman had either struck the child on the head with an instrument, or the child had hit something when the mother threw it into the jungle, as there was a severe bruise on the side of the baby's face.[2]

[848] In another instance, a husband forced his wife to kill a child because he was certain that he did not sire the

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[1] Occasionally the woman will arrange to have an abortion when the foetus is in an advanced state of development. The most common practice consists of rupturing the amnion by trauma: a pregnant woman will lie on her back and have someone, usually a female friend or kinswoman, jump on her abdomen. More rarely, she will have her husband rupture the amnion by squeezing her around the abdomen by an arm lock.

[2] The missionary ultimately adopted the infant and brought her to England when he left Venezuela.

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowë-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwë, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

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[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowë-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a [665] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

609 613 *621 *628 [598] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwë) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

609 601 The term shoriwë (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwë implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwë for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwë is not easily denied: shoriwë is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [997] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

609 60 groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe
799 as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with
609 this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining
601 desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.

609 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind
52 each other of obligations when they use this kinship term.
601 A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

#628 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or
574 participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that
609 village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they
601 stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.
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#628 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to
527 military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be
574 remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-
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000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

174 195 *621 578 361 Matakuwë's group had three factions. Oroshowë, a man belonging to Matakuwë's faction, took a woman away from her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwë's vil-

174 175 *[628] 192 lages to avenge the death of Biawawë, the man killed in the feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was unable to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's

174 195 *621 361 [622] • [799] group to found their own villages: Warabawë-tedi, led by Newariwë, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwë. These last two villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time, as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Missionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group

361 [574] lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi

* [628] [792] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 361 922 In about 1935 Matakuwë and his group moved to Kayurewë to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.

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* [628] [1] Warabawë-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabëyoma.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Urariçaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1] Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

184 648 721 contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. [411] [179] It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

184 562 *62 *628 578 721 Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered 721 *628 562 726 *707 77 [595] that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Ararican Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

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[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

11. Didihoma. See #28, Manassinawë, below.

12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper Cauaburi River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowë, below). The man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowë, set off for Mömariböwei-tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation. They were going to Mömariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun, presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were one of the only allies of the Mömariböwei-tedi, they gave up the girl without much argument, since she would have died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the Patanowë-tedi in late 1964 by the Monou-tedi. She was taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower Bisaasi-tedi and given to Koobauwë, one of the village bachelors.

23. Katabema. See Shiborowë, below.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968). 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating. 114 123

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point, I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club *is* considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution. 114 123 152 [593]

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village. 114 121 123

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[5] across the river. I knew that if 114 123 [199]

[5]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe. [501] [439]

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

244 [177] [252] [799] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians–and by rural Venezuelans–and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 * SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yanomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yanomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Paruritawä-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on feasting terms with the *628 Möwaraoba-teri. Kaobawä's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the 574 Möwaraoba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the 726 tables reversed: Kaobawä's group would lie in ambush, while the Paruritawä-teri attacked the guests within the village. The Möwaraoba-teri were being ravished by a malaria [131] epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kaobawä's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kaobawä's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Paruritawä-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mõmariböwei-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri, both continuing to remain friendly to Kaobawä's group.

*628 In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kaobawä and his 574 supporters left to visit Reyaboböwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to 726 conduct another treacherous feast for the Möwaraoba-teri. They left a few men behind 123 to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kaobawä's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village [438] passed through Upper Bisaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men [203] were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Mission- [197] aries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Bisaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kaobawä's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kaobawä and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

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[1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomoboni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kaobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yanomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Sitäwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told